

## "NATURAL STATE" CALLED REMEDY FOR PUBLIC ILLS

REVOLUTION AND DEMOCRACY. By Frederic C. Howe. B. W. Huebner.

One doesn't need to agree with Dr. Howe to find his book very interesting. It is of considerable importance as a forceful statement of very radical doctrines, put forth with full sincerity of conviction, and, one must believe, in a real desire to bring about better things. Dr. Howe is sufficiently well known as Mr. Wilson's Immigration Commissioner and a publicist with a long list of pamphlets to his credit. This one aims to summarize the whole political and social situation from the standpoint of the radical. In fact, Dr. Howe's political thinking comes near to being philosophical anarchy.

He is quite sure that unless something is done about it very soon the United States, and, as to that, the whole civilized world, is going very rapidly to the demerit bowwows. His thesis is that the developments of the last fifty years are leading toward destruction and a revolution. These evil tendencies are the growth of monopolies in industry, the creation of an industrial "feudal system," in which power is vested in the hands of a few, and, along with this imperialism the exploitation of resources, profiteering, the creation of sharply defined "ruling classes" and a narrowly oligarchic political state. The remedy for all this he finds in the creation of a "natural state," based on industrial democracy, the abolition of any wage system and the creation of a sort of Soviet government.

"The capitalistic world," says Dr. Howe, "is now in a state of collapse. The economic state is being strangled by privilege. The profit making motive has been carried so far that the world is deadlocked. . . . Class laws have made it difficult if not impossible for the world to function." England, Germany and even France, he finds, are dying because of such class rule—though he admits that in France the ruling class is actually the peasant whose savings are administered by the great Paris banks. "The same privileged classes are ascendant in the United States," he says. "They, too, are contributing to the death of the world."

The main instrument of destruction he defines as a form of "sabotage." In industry it consists in limiting production, in wasteful inefficiency, in the restriction of invention and the prohibition of progress and equitable use of great resources (such as coal and water power), and in agriculture he finds it in the capitalist's refusal to let the farmer market his produce freely, in railroad restrictions, limitation on distribution, etc. He discusses in much detail such factors as coal, land ownership, banking, the centralizing of credit, transportation, education, the press (which he naturally finds to be wearing a capitalistic muzzle) and politics in general.

## A great monument of paper and ink

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH ROLL OF HONOR, 1914-1919. London: Oliver & Boyd.

Reviewed by WILLIS STEEL.

NOTHING is easier to write than the obvious commonplace due to a book like this, a magnificent tome, folio in size and numbering 800 pages. It is to serve the ancient Alma Mater seated on her crag overlooking Arthur's Seat as the memorial of her 7,000 sons who rushed into battle to save the freedom that the Sybil centuries ago wrote on her scroll; just as the poor wooden tablets reared in hamlet, village and the prouder bronze marble of cities of our America bearing gold starred names are the memorial of our boys fallen on the same field.

Nearly a thousand of her sons Edinburgh University thus commemorates, but there is no tale to be kept in these solemn matters, and as she grieves for her sons so grieves the smallest of our middle Western colleges for the handful of heroes they have lost. The commonplaces of grief as of honor are expressed in the same words for both.

As the frontispiece of this great book is printed the portrait of Earl Kitchener, Lord Rector of the University from 1914 to 1916, mysterious in his death as in his life, but the great institution was not satisfied to use his splendid features as its only illustration; no, it sought and found throughout the bounds of Scotland as many portraits as possible of her sons. In the roll of honor 550 of these are given, with a brief summary of the scholarly career of each—in many instances but begun—with a still briefer account of the circumstances in which each one met his death. The gallery is prefaced by Kipling's words pronounced at the university on July 7, 1920:

"All earth is witness that they answered as befit their ancestry (the boys are Scots almost without exception); they endured as the strong influences about their youth had framed them to endure. That they willingly and wittingly laid down the unachieved purposes of their lives in order that all life should not be wrenched from its purpose; that they turned without fear or question from these gates of learning to those of the grave in order that free men might still continue to learn freedom, in their glory, but not their glory alone. It is the glory also of their severe and beloved mother, who, while she gave them learning, dowered them with that wisdom without which all learning is folly."

A few men died centuries ago at Thermopylae, leaving no names, but an influence undying in its vivifying effect on civilization. The modern way of carrying on the torch is Edinburgh's. This roll of honor, these records of war service, orders, decorations, mentions, is the way. It is a fine way. Would that it, with all the books written already and to be written, all the monuments erected and to be put up, might teach fundamentally one solemn lesson the world has been slow to learn—the waste of war!



## POLITICS - PSYCHOLOGY

### World sovereignty still waits

NOTES ON SOVEREIGNTY: FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE STATE AND OF THE WORLD. By Robert Lansing. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

THE consideration of a subject like 'Sovereignty' leads a man who has had little cause to study such questions in the abstract into an unwanted field of thought, where he finds himself involved in a maze of theories which in their application at least are confusing on account of the different premises and concepts upon which they rest.

Such is the feeling many readers will have while perusing the first pages, but the book is written in so compelling a manner as to lead the reader along deeper and deeper into the subject until he finds himself in a maze of world development and prospective development from which he cannot extricate himself until the last page has been turned.

Dealing with our own government in the individual States and the Federal State, with our relationship to and reaction from other governments of the present and past Lansing leads up to the old idea of a world state.

"The first positive and direct expression of world sovereignty must of necessity be the organization of a world state, which presumably will be of a federal character for two reasons: First, because the world is already divided into organized groups of individuals forming political states, and second, because the federal state is the most highly developed political organism of modern civilization. The idea of a world state is not new. In fact prior to Grotius the idea was general, but under the artificial sovereignty of the Middle Ages it was substantially an impossibility. To-day, however, based upon a higher conception of sovereign authority and a more enlightened code of political ethics, the idea is gathering new force."

Originally, during the barbaric ages, physical energy or strength of body compelled obedience, and the sovereign in a state was found to be the one who could compel obedience. As civilization has progressed, the concept of sovereignty has clarified. "Such sovereignty may be defined as the power to the extent of human capacity to do all things on the earth without accountability." He goes on to explain that sovereignty does not lie in the power of one man by right of intellect or strength, but in the people of

a state, whose sovereign is but their agent, performing their wishes, or overthrown when acting contrary to the ideas of the real sovereign.

"Cooley defines a state as a body politic, or society of men, united together for the purpose of promoting their mutual safety and advantage by the joint efforts of their combined strength."

"The artificial character of the sovereignty in a state when compared with the reality of world sovereignty, while demonstrable by abstract reasoning, may be also proved by reference to concrete facts."

"History furnished numerous in-

stances of the loss and restoration of sovereignty in a state—lost through the exercise of physical force external to the state and superior to that within the state, and against the will of the sovereign of the state; and restored by the voluntary act of the possessor of the superior external force or under the coercive influence of other external forces and not by the physical might within the state itself."

Summarizing his conclusions, we have:

There is possessed by a body of in-

dividuals in the world physical might to compel absolute obedience from all other individuals considered collectively, and also considered separately; this all powerful body of individuals, therefore, possesses the real sovereignty of the world, considering the world as a unit or a single and universal community. The sovereignty in every state as it is now politically organized is artificial viewed from the standpoint of the world as a single community, and such sovereignty depends for its sphere of operation and exercise upon the will of the body of individuals possessing the world sovereignty. But since only the sovereignty existing in a state has been exercised directly, world sovereignty has not been positively expressed up to the present time. It remains passive

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